

What's Wrong with Beautiful?:

An Exploration of Gender Bias in Related Programs

Devon Brown

Lisa Cravens-Brown

The Ohio State University

Abstract

In recent years, the way boys and girls are socialized has become an increasingly popular topic of research. There is evidence that the ways in which children are socialized differently based on their gender can have adverse effects on both boys and girls. Two primary forms of sexist behavior and beliefs have been clearly identified and validated in the empirical research literature. Benevolent sexism is defined as statements, actions, or behaviors that seem positive but implicitly communicate that women should not stray from “traditional” gender roles, which are often perceived as inferior to men’s roles. Hostile sexism is a more overt form of sexism and is often recognized by observers and targets as unacceptable. Sexist beliefs and behaviors, including the words used to communicate with boys and girls, shape our culture and have effects on the self-esteem and perceived self-worth of young people and are worthy topics of study. In this study, we examined the differences between two manuals for the male and female versions of a program whose goal is to mold adolescents into strong leaders. Analyses were both qualitative and quantitative, and focused on assessing the differences between the materials provided to the participants prior to attending these programs. Quantitative analysis revealed that the boys’ program was higher in achievement-oriented words and independence-oriented words. Qualitative analysis also revealed differences in programming choices, availability of program-monogrammed clothing, and rules regarding interaction with the other sex.

Introduction

Two primary forms of sexist behavior and beliefs have been clearly identified and validated in the empirical research literature. Glick & Fiske (e.g., 2000) have completed a comprehensive set of studies exploring the two forms of sexism. Hostile sexism produces overtly

sexist behavior, including negative verbal messages Someone telling a woman she can't get something because it is too heavy or to get back in the kitchen are prime examples of a hostile sexist's view. It is generally recognized as harmful prejudice and is not acceptable by social norms and standards. Hostile sexism actively works to maintain women's subordinate place in society, is based on stereotypes, and communicates a clear disdain for women. Hostile sexism is often most clearly applied when a woman's behavior is challenging a traditional view of gender and becomes increasingly hostile with the degree of deviation from the norm (Sibley & Wilson, 2004). If the in-group's status of power is threatened, then they will use hostile sexism to diffuse the threat (Glick & Fiske, 2001). This type of sexism is easily detected by observers as prejudice and is viewed negatively in many situations(Glick & Fiske, 2001).

Most people would define sexism as a general antipathy towards women, but the prejudice in benevolent sexism does not convey disdain for women, rather it is a "reward" for behaviors that conform to traditional gender roles. Benevolent sexism is couched in loving, caring, positive terms and thus is difficult to recognize (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Benevolent sexism is often expressed through statements or behaviors that are subjectively polite or gallant, but are grounded in stereotypes and work to keep women in a subordinate position (Glick et al., 2000; Good & Rudman, 2009; Shepard, 2010). These statements are frequently cloaked in a veil of chivalry, for example, a man saying to a woman, "Let me get that for you."

Both benevolent and hostile sexism rely on the perceived lack of competence of women in male-dominated arenas, such as the business world. "Women's tasks" are consistently not regarded as highly. For example, tasks like taking care of the home are often deemed as not "real" work (Glick and Fiske, 1996). Benevolent sexism places women on a pedestal, and

demands they be protected, while hostile sexism demands they get out of the way (Rudman & Heppen, 2003). Women rate men who behave in benevolently sexist ways as more favorable, even though they are likely to apply hostile sexism as well (Sibley & Wilson, 2004). This is dangerous since these stereotypes can undermine the accomplishments of women and cause women to suffer a variety of negative psychological effects, such as lowered self-esteem, decreased self-efficacy, and increased body shame (e.g., Glick and Fiske, 1996; Good & Rudman, 2009; Shepard, 2010).

Since benevolent sexism is difficult to identify, women who experience it or witness it are unable to identify where unfavorable feelings are stemming from, and tend to categorize themselves as unworthy of respect (Cihangir, Barreto, & Ellemers, 2010). For example, in one study, male interviewers were observed in three conditions (Good & Rudman, 2009). The male interviewer treated the female interviewee either without sexism, with hostile sexism, or with benevolent sexism. The participants rated the hostile sexist poorly, but the benevolently sexist men were seen as warm and caring towards the female interviewee. However, the women who were treated with benevolent sexism by the male interviewer were rated as less competent and less hireable by the participants, clearly indicating that the perpetrators of benevolent sexism are socially rewarded while the victims are socially punished.

Sibley and Wilson (2004) conducted a study in which several vignettes were presented to the participant. The female in the vignette either reinforced a positive stereotype (e.g., women are pure) or negative female stereotype (e.g., women are temptresses). They used Glick and Fiske's Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI; Glick & Fiske, 1996) to measure hostile and benevolent sexism. They found that participants who viewed the negative stereotype vignette

showed an increase in hostile sexism, while participants who viewed the positive stereotype showed an increase in benevolent sexism (Sibley & Wilson, 2004). This study supports the assertion that hostile and benevolent sexism are positively correlated, meaning someone who applies one form of sexism will often ascribe to the other as well, but also that these constructs are related to women conforming or defying cultural stereotypes.

In communities that have a high rate of endorsement for benevolent sexism, there are fewer women participating in governmental, political, and economic roles (Barreto & Ellemers 2005; Glick et al., 2000) Cultures that are high in benevolent sexism are generally also high in hostile sexism. Benevolent sexism also operates “under the radar” in every culture, in that it is not immediately regarded as sexist in the way hostile sexism is (Glick et al., 2000). Its seemingly positive nature allows for perpetrators of benevolent sexism to be seen as holding positive views towards women, instead of sexist views (Barreto & Ellemers, 2005)

Even witnessing incidents of benevolent sexism has been shown to negatively affect women (Rudman & Heppen, 2003). For example, Shepard (2010) had two confederates model benevolent sexism with a man insisting on lifting a box for the female confederate. Women who witnessed this simple display of benevolent sexism showed higher rates of body monitoring and self-objectification than women who did not witness him carrying the box for her. Thus, if a program that is designed to benefit young women is characterized by high levels of benevolent sexism, the girls enrolled in the program might actually experience negative effects, such as increased body monitoring and lowered self-efficacy, the opposite of the program’s stated intention.

Negative stereotypes have adverse effects on the performance of members of the stereotyped group (Brannon, 2011). People in stereotyped groups are threatened when their performance may identify them as part of the negative stereotype (Brannon, 2011; Von Hippel, Issa, Ma, & Stokes, 2010). Even if the person does not endorse the stereotype, the presence of the negative stereotype can cause anxiety and tension when performing any given task. Fredrickson, Roberts, Noll and Twenge (1998) conducted a study which demonstrates the effects of stereotype threat on women. They had men and women try on either a bathing suit or a sweater. While in either the swimsuit or sweater, the participants completed a math test. Women who were in the swimsuit earned significantly poorer scores on the math test than women trying on the sweater. This effect was not found in white men who do not have the stereotype of having poor math skills, suggesting that stereotype threat was responsible for the effect. When a program makes gender or race salient, it also makes the associated stereotypes salient. That is, when women are made aware of negative stereotypes about their gender it could have detrimental effects on the performance of girls that would not be present in a boys program.

Organizations separated by gender allow for analysis of what is being communicated to each gender. In the Buckeye Boys and Girls State programs, college-bound adolescents are sent to a weeklong government and law structured “summer camp.” They are given dress codes, codes of conducts, itineraries, and information packets. Both programs have applications, interviews, and strict requirements for attendance and they both seek out highly achieving juniors in high school who are interested in influential government positions. Messages communicated by such programs can have an impact on educational and career goals (Denny, 2011).

Previous research has shown that women are grossly underrepresented in the media as heroines (Hamilton, Anderson, Broaddus, & Young, 2006). They are less likely to be shown in the gender nonconforming role of independence, while men are often depicted as independent thinkers and actors (Denny, 2011). For example, The Powerpuff Girls fight crime together and come home to a male patriarch in the evening who organizes their lives, but Samurai Jack, a show on the same network, depicts an independent male samurai who fights crime on his own (McCracken, 1994; Tartakovsky, 2001). Independence and self-reliance are traits socialized strongly in boys whereas close relationships are socialized just as strongly in girls (Hibbard & Buhrmester, 1998).

Hibbard and Buhrmester, (1998) conducted an analysis of reported attitudes on behaviors displayed that were gender conforming and gender non-conforming. These authors found that peer groups also have substantial influence on the socialization of boys and girls. Even young children reward and punish each other for conforming or rebelling against the status quo. Girls are socialized to understand they behave communally or with concern for relationships and social connections in mind, while boys are socialized to behave in an active manner, which is dominance and status oriented with less focus on personal relationships. Girls respond more positively to other girls who use a communal style of behavior rather than an agentic style. They concluded that these social rewards and punishments are incentive for girls to behave in a stereotypical community style and boys to behave independently. This socialization is carried on throughout the adolescent years, and leads to different qualities being valued in boys and girls, even when they are being evaluated in the same situation.

While there is a popular visible push in our society to treat boys and girls similarly, the implicit messages regarding proper gender roles are still communicated from birth (e.g., Shepard, 2010). For example, Bridges (1993) conducted a study in which gendered birth congratulations cards were compared. From this comparison, they found the colors pink and blue to be gender specific. In addition, cards intended for male infants had imagery specific to active play, such as sports, and boys were seen as stronger and more coordinated than girls. Girls were more often described as sweet, nice, or little, than boys were. It is clear from these results that the ideals of female passivity and male assertiveness are communicated to children and their parents as soon as they are born.

Complicating the matter is the polite or chivalrous nature of benevolently sexist acts. It is hard to see why it is harmful to open doors for women or carry their heavy groceries. It seems romantic to conform to an ideal that women be put on a pedestal by the men who love them. Their subjectively positive nature makes them difficult to identify as negative, and often someone who attempts to rebuff such acts is viewed in a negative light. Further, when these messages are put into programs that are overtly striving to counter sexist practices, they are sending mixed messages on how to behave. A program that is trying to transmit the message, “You can do anything (a boy can do)” may actually be perpetuating the societal belief of, “You are inherently subservient to men.” Analyzing the language used by programs designed for one sex or the other may yield clues about both the state of gender bias in our community, but also help us understand the implicit messages being sent to participants in these programs. Programs such as Buckeye Girls State are in place to educate young women in the duties of good citizenship through a rigorous weeklong program. Buckeye Girls State strives to empower

women, provide them academic opportunities and ensure gender equality between programs. Any use of benevolent sexism in the manuals of such programs will serve to maintain the hierarchy already in place and restrict women's available roles in the larger society (e.g., Shepard, 2010). If the Buckeye Girls State program emphasizes being stereotypically feminine and associates this with academic achievement, this could actually demotivate girls from striving for success. For example, Betz & Sekaquaptewa (2012) found that adolescent girls presented with hyperfeminized professional females felt less able and less interested in science, technology, engineering and math fields. A program like Buckeye Girls State that overtly promotes female interest in male-dominated fields could be doing the opposite by covertly championing traditional femininity.

Another study of women in the workplace found that women used social comparisons in order to ascertain how they stacked up against colleagues (Von Hippel, Issa, Ma, & Stokes, 2010). When a woman compares herself to a man it may become salient that men are often promoted faster and paid more than women, creating a stereotype of women in their minds (Von Hippel, Issa, Ma, & Stokes, 2010). The study shows that women who engage in social comparison are also likely to experience higher levels of stereotype threat (Von Hippel, Issa, Ma, & Stokes, 2010). The realization through social comparison that women are not being treated as equal to men can serve to activate stereotypes related to their competence. When someone is made aware of a negative stereotype, level of performance is negatively affected (Steele, 1997). Benevolent sexism could very well make salient the gender stereotypes placed upon them, threatening their self-esteem. When the cognitive power is being allotted to worrying about

stereotype threat, and not the task at hand, young women may very well perform worse than their male counterparts (e.g., Fredrickson, Roberts, Noll & Twenge, 1998).

In addition, Cihangir, Barreto, and Ellemers (2010) showed that women who have low self-esteem are more susceptible to negative effects of benevolent sexism than those who are higher in self-esteem. Adolescents are often in an elevated state of self-consciousness and low self-esteem (Brannon, 2011). When a group of people who are at higher risk for low self-esteem are pushed into a benevolently sexist environment, they are all the more likely to direct negative emotions to themselves rather than the sexist act. In fact, people with low self-esteem are likely to attribute benevolently sexist statements as a lack of deserving of respect for one's self (Cihangir, Barreto, & Ellemers, 2010).

Denny (2011) gave an excellent illustration of how programs aimed to help boys and girls achieve success may actually be perpetuating stereotypes. This author compared the manuals and badges of the Girl and Boy Scouts programs, including requirements for badges in both programs. She also compared the number of badges that required social interaction or help from another person in order to complete and the number that could be completed independently (e.g., looking up answers in a book). She found that 83% of the Boy Scout badges were intended to be completed independently, while only 70% of Girl Scout badges were. Thirty percent of Girl Scout badges were others-oriented, while only 17% of Boy Scout badges were intended to be completed in a group. She also examined type of language used in the manuals, specifically if social words or independent words were being used more frequently in either manual. There were language differences between the two manuals. For example, the Girl Scout manual used "try" in places where the Boy Scout manual used "will," which emphasizes effort for girls and

accomplishment for boys. Other analyses focused on the names of the badges; specifically whether the names included word play, such as puns or alliteration (e.g., the Frosty Fun badge for Girl Scouts). She found that none of the Boy Scout badges used word play, but 27% of the Girl Scout badges did. The Boy Scout badges were named for legitimate careers, such as geologist, while the equivalent Girl Scouts badge was named Rocks Rock. Overall, she concluded that the accomplishments of the Girl Scouts are treated as a temporary endeavor done for fun, whereas the Boy Scouts are awarded badges related to legitimate career paths.

Methods

Buckeye Girls State and Buckeye Boys State are week-long, mock government summer programs that adolescents are invited to attend during the summer of their junior year of high school. Before they go to Buckeye Girls State or Buckeye Boys State, the delegates are given preparation materials. The materials are referred to as delegate information packets for the girls and gold books for the boys, and each program has a unique packet. The materials are available online from each program's website. Each packet contains a variety of information for the delegates including: Program overviews, welcome letters, a history of the program, orientation information, program guidelines, description of activities, instructions on campaigning, and do's and don'ts.

In order to test the hypothesis that the language would differ between the two programs, a list of words was created and then identified as stereotypically masculine or feminine words, then grouped into gender-based themes (e.g., achievement, domestic). Table 1 contains the words and the groupings. Each word was counted in each packet, and sums were calculated for each thematic group.

Observations of the websites and their visual appearance were also conducted. In addition, content of each packet was examined for prevalent themes. Specifically, the dress code, code of conduct, daily activities options, and letters sent to the delegates were observed.

Our three hypotheses were created *a priori* and are as follows:

- The girl's manual will contain more girl-gendered words than the boy's manual
- The boy's manual will contain more boy-gendered words than the girl's manual
- The girls manual will contain specific evidence of benevolent sexism

Results

The boys' information packet had nearly twice the words of the girls' packet, so to compensate for this difference we divided the counts of the boy words by one half before comparing the totals. We used a chi-square analysis to compare the frequencies. The chi-square analysis of the word groupings yielded two significant differences. The boys' packet had a significantly higher frequency of both Independence [$\chi^2(1)=13.564$, $p<.001$] and Achievement [$\chi^2(1)=4.172$, $p<.05$] words. These results are depicted in figure 1.

The first materials in the delegate packets were welcome letters. The comparable letters contained very different themes based on the audience (boys versus girls). The directors of Boys and Girls State each wrote a letter to their respective programs. The boys' letter said, "I welcome each of you to a unique...leadership and management program..." (American Legion, 2013) and, "All of us look forward to having you as a participant in this year's session." He also offered his help if any of the delegates had questions. The girls' director congratulated the participants on

being selected and warned them about breaking this commitment they made. She also outlined the “privileges’ citizenship provides them. She let the girls know they and their parents needed to read everything thoroughly before trying to contact anyone with questions. She offered no contact information and did not explicitly state whether she was the one who could offer any help if the delegate or her family wanted it.

The next letter is from the Presidents of the American Legion. The boys are told they have leadership potential and desirable traits for the program. The girls are told that the program is “a great honor that has been bestowed upon” them (American Legion, 2013). The boys’ and girls’ letter from the Presidents list notable attendees of Buckeye State. They both have senators, congressman, and lawyers, but the girls’ list mentions that “even Miss America” is an alumna.

The final letter is from the National Chairman for the girls and the National Commander for the boys, positions which appear to be equivalent within the programs. Once again, the girls’ letter states that they are “privileged” to attend this program and the boys are “being welcomed to the American Legion family.” (American Legion, 2013). The girls are told this is a “once in a lifetime opportunity” and the proper respect should be given. The boys are told the responsibility of citizenship “rests squarely on their shoulders.”(American Legion, 2013).

The materials also detail the daily activities of the delegates. Two interesting differences are evident here. The girls are allowed to join a choir and the boys are not, while the boys are offered a utility and realty company and the girls are not. Both programs are given a list of conduct-related rules. The girls are told not to wear short skirts and not to abuse the dress code. There is also an overt ban on boys in the girls’ camp but no equivalent rule stated for the boys. The boys are told they can bring laptops to supplement their work at the program while the girls

are not. The girls are also given an entire document about sexual harassment, but the boys are not.

Discussion

Our qualitative analysis supported the hypothesis that benevolent sexism and stereotypical language are used in the manuals of both programs. All of the delegates are provided and expected to read materials on the website in their entirety before attending Buckeye State. The review we conducted of these materials shows clear differences between the guidelines provided, the way they are presented, and the activities provided. First, the girls' website is full of colors and pictures and lacking in text while the boys' website is stark white with an official looking seal and blocks of text. It would seem the aim for the boys' page is to communicate information and the girls' page is to look nice. Approaching the aesthetics of each web page differently demonstrates the stereotypes held by the program administrators. Differences in appearance, even in the website, is perpetuating the belief that girls are aesthetically driven and need things to be pretty in order to be interested in them whereas boys do not. In contrast, previous research has shown that appealing to girls in stereotypically feminine ways discourages them from participating in male dominated fields, such as government and law (Sibley & Wilson, 2004), so the websites may actually be discouraging the strongest applicants.

The language differences between the welcome letters suggest that the boys' have earned their spot at Buckeye State while the girls have been given something. Differences are also clear in the inspirational models. For example, an astronaut is provided as a benchmark for boys and a pageant winner for girls. Astronauts are famous for what they do while pageant winners are

notable for how they look. Once again, agency is being rewarded in boys while aesthetics is being championed for girls.

All three of the girls' letters have at least a paragraph communicating that the program is "what you make it" and that it is up to the girls to have a meaningful experience. The boys, on the other hand, are told this in only one letter and in only one sentence. That is, each letter is reiterating to the girls how lucky they are to be there, and placing the blame for any dissatisfaction they feel squarely on the girls themselves. In contrast, the boys are treated as if they are entitled to great opportunities. Since the stereotype is that boys are good at holding positions of power and girls are good at caring for the domestic, these words belie the idea of the administrators that the girls have to prove they are worthy of these opportunities in order to earn their chance.

One of the letters provides personal contact information for questions to the boys. While the girls are instructed to read all the material with their parents before seeking help from the program. This could be interpreted many ways. One stereotype is that boys are not very good at reading and are also not very good at following directions. Thus, additional contact information is needed to make up for their "deficits" in these areas. Girls, on the other hand, are supposed to be really good at both reading and following directions, so they don't need the contact information as badly. Thus, girls who need the contact information would be failing their duties by not reading carefully enough.

Much of what is written in the welcome letters suggests that the girls attending this program are lucky to have been given an opportunity, while the boys are welcomed into the family of a very prestigious program.

The disparity between activities offered to each program falls in line with gendered stereotypes. Even if a boy wanted to join the choir he does not have that option. The girls are not allowed to work in a mock utility company or realty company. Why does this pretend world have the same limitations (or more) on boys and girls as the real world? The girls attending this program are being excluded from masculine opportunities, and the boys are excluded from artsy activities based on gender stereotypes. Since boys are deemed appropriate employees of “blue collar” jobs like a utility company they are the only ones given the option. Choir is not a career choice in the same way a realtor or handy-man is, and these activities are seen as acceptable hobbies for only women. There is a tone of policing the girls while behaving permissively to the boys. The girls are being told what they are not allowed to do while the boys are being told what they can do.

The girls are also given an entire document on sexual harassment while the boys are not. This is harmful to boys in that it undercuts male victims of sexual assault that is already stigmatized in our society. Approaching sexual abuse with the mindset that girls are always victims and boys are always perpetrators does not allow for proper care of true victims. When girls are abusers, boys are often told they should have enjoyed it or it is not possible for their abuse to have happened. This leaves the boys unsheltered from their abuse and mocked for coming forward. This could be a contributing factor to the underreporting of sexual abuse in males. Further, the female perpetrator does not face appropriate consequences, a major flaw in our system. The girls are treated with protective paternalism by the program which is a type of benevolent sexism. Boys and girls are both capable of participating in mock government tasks without being patronized. By patronizing girls, we are treating them as if they are fragile, while

same-aged boys are being treated as adults. It would seem the Buckeye State program is just another tool of the status quo to keep women in the subordinate position they currently occupy in society and to “reward” them with this paternalism for complying. The girls are seen as needing someone to take care of them at all times, and they boys are treated as independent and capable human beings.

The age of the participants is relevant to the research. Adolescence is a period of identity development and high self-awareness. When anyone is faced with a stereotypical environment that makes them uncomfortable, adolescents are more likely to attribute these uncomfortable feelings to internal attributes about themselves rather than the environment. This could lead to even higher rates of decreased self-esteem for the adolescents who experience it.

The salience of race on top of gender may increase the likelihood of stereotype threat activating (Brannon, 2011). Women of color are even more likely to be influenced by stereotype threat, effectively creating a double-whammy for this minority group (Brannon, 2011). Women who fill out demographic information before the program have their race along with their gender made salient from the beginning (Brannon, 2011). This salience leads to increase stereotype threat both from stereotypes of their gender and ethnicity (Brannon, 2011). Demographic information is required before attending Buckeye Girls State which could have adverse effects on minority women who choose to attend the program. Currently, data on diversity of the participants is unknown, and therefore no definitive statement can be made on the stereotypes at play here, but future research might consider adding race as a variable for exploration.

As previously stated, witnessing benevolent sexism is enough to activate the negative stereotypes associated with them. The presence of benevolent sexism in these programs can be

damaging on its own. It's important to recognize no one has to scream at the girls that they are inferior to the boys to have the negative effects. Telling them to wear skirts to formal events, to dress respectably and emphasizing their appearance is enough to remind them of their subservient place in our patriarchal society and cause these damaging effects outlined earlier.

Our quantitative analysis did show some interesting results. The independence and achievement words were emphasized in the boys' manuals which we hypothesized. This corresponds to the stereotypes we hold about boys being very individualized and successful. Although no other group differences were found between categories, this may be more a matter of statistical power than lack of true differences. Future studies should concentrate on exploring these differences with more sensitivity.

This study did have some limitations. We only used one year of documents provided to the delegates and different effects may have shown up over the years that these programs have been in place. Our method of collecting quantitative data also did not seem to pick up on the benevolent sexism that our qualitative analysis shows is present. Perhaps this is due to the word list being generated a priori and the analyses may be better served by creating a word list from reading the documents of the Buckeye State program. Further, a meta-thematic approach to the quantitative data may pick up on benevolent sexism that escapes a simple presence or absence word count. Qualitative observation, by its nature, is subject to the biases of the interpreter and should be taken into account when reading the results. Finding an effective way to quantify benevolent sexism in such content should be a priority for future research.

Future studies should investigate data over time from the students who attend these programs. It would be interesting to see how delegates of Buckeye State fare against those who

did not. It would also be of interest to investigate what fields these students pursue after Buckeye State since presumably these students have some interest in government and law before going into the program. The Boys and Girls State programs are not limited to Ohio. There are many programs and it would be important to compare these programs across the country. We would also like to see the results of an Ambivalent Sexism Inventory if given to the writers of these documents to see how they score and if it would be consistent with our observations of the documents. Demographic information should be sought out and used to compare groups to discover if these effects may hit certain groups harder. It is potentially very damaging to have these messages sent to thousands of adolescents across the country.

Adolescents are impressionable and programs they attend have the potential to greatly affect their development. Boys and girls are socialized differently from birth to act in certain ways. This socialization can be damaging for both boys and girls. Boys and girls are both held to stereotypical standards when being compared in the same scenarios. Benevolent sexism is problematic because the overt tone is positive towards women and it is socially acceptable to treat women as fragile beings to be protected. Women who are treated this way however, are seen as less competent and less useful regardless of what merit they have shown. The Buckeye Girls State program is in place to provide young women an equivalent experience to the Boys State program. The presence of benevolent sexism in the materials provided to the adolescents would have adverse effects on the women who are subject to the sexism. Fragilizing women in the manuals, championing traditional femininity, or making gender salient in the manuals can all have effects that draw young women's attention away from the program and even more so for

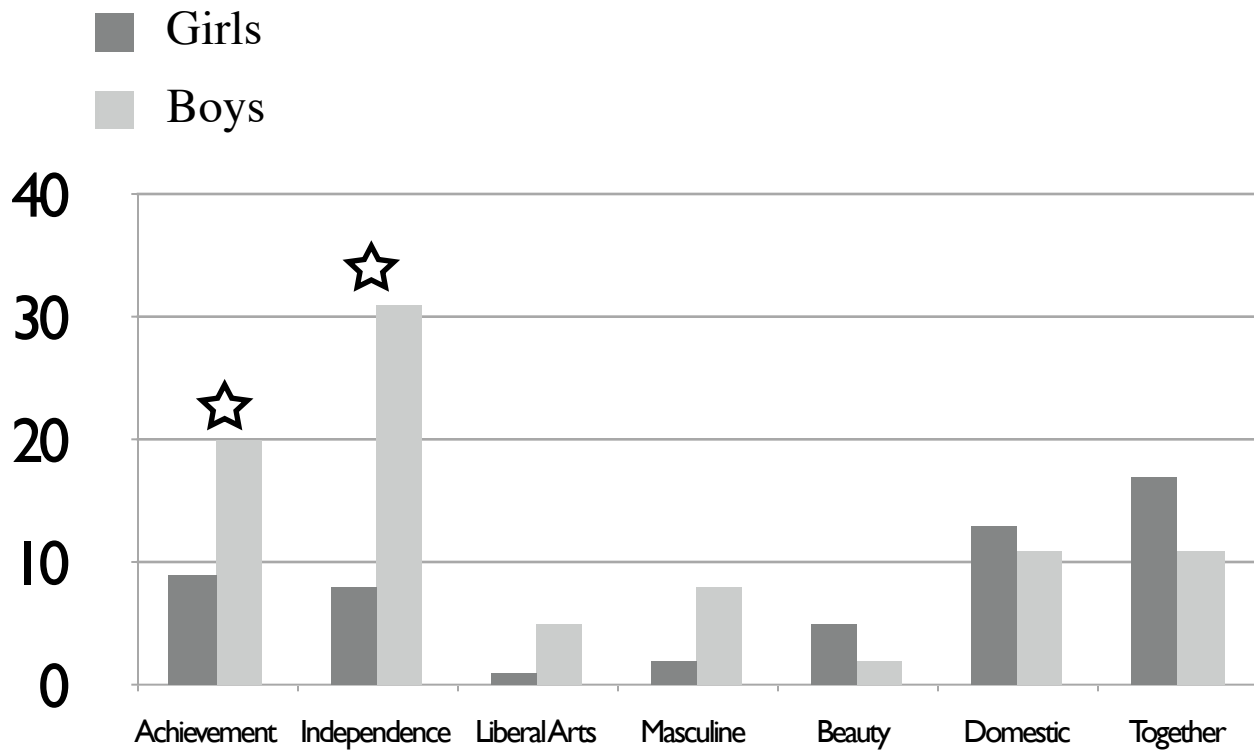
minority women. Understanding the foundations for benevolent sexism is an essential step in ensuring equality between programs separated by gender.

Table 1

Achievement (Masculine)	Masculine Stereotype (Masculine)	Independence (Masculine)	Liberal Arts Majors (Feminine)	Domestic (Feminine)	Together (Feminine)	Female Looks (Feminine)
remarkable	adventurous	independent	English	calm	in a group	fashion
noteworthy	aggressive	alone	art	dependent	with others	presentation
unmatched	Assertive	myself	liberal arts	passive	social	pretty
exceptional	competitive	on my own	artistic	sensitive	us	perky
achievement	confident	individual	creative	quiet	together	classy
professional	courageous	personal	history	soft	others	cute
success	dependable	I	reading	accepting	friends	attractive
capable	dominant		writing	feminine		sophisticated
responsible	hero			delicate		stylish
responsibility	protection			prim		flattering
hard working	masculine			conservative		adorable
hard work	power			modest		sleeveless
dedication	protector			sensible		beautiful
talent	reliable			sweet		graceful
disciplined	robust			emotional		simple
focused	rugged					proper
natural talent	secure					appropriate
ability	strong					
skill						
experienced						
mature						
smart						
intelligent						
wise						

Frequencies

Figure 1.



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